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NOTES ON TAIRORA NOUN MORPHOLOGY

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1. Introduction
2. Word Bases
3. Noun Classes
4. Suffixes
5. Prefixes
6. Conclusion

1. Introduction.

This paper treats the affixes that occur with nouns in Tairora.¹ The Tairora language is a member of the Gadsup-Auyana-Awa-Tairora family and is spoken by an estimated 8,000 speakers who live in mountainous country south of Kainantu in the Eastern Highlands District of the Territory of New Guinea.²

The analysis presented here is based on spontaneous utterances and stories gathered during two years of field work between 1957 and 1961 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The writer wishes to acknowledge his debt to Ori, a man of about thirty five, of the Tairora village of Bantura who has supplied much of the text material and patiently helped in the transcribing of materials from tape.

Tairora phonemes include the following consonants: p, t, k, ʔ, h, b, r, m, n, and mp, nt, nk. The voiceless bilabial varies between a stop and a fricative; the voiced bilabial is a fricative between vowels and a lenis stop elsewhere. The voiced alveolar tends to be a flapped lateral before the phonemes u and o, and a flapped vibrant elsewhere. Pre-nasalized homorganic stops mp, nt, and nk are written here as digraphs, though, since they occur initially, they are analyzed as unit phonemes. Other consonants have their usual phonetic values. Vowels include i, a, u, and e, aa, o. The first three are usually short while the last three are long. The phoneme a is mid-central and aa is low central. Stress is left unmarked in this paper.

2. Word Bases.

Word bases in Tairora can be divided into two main classes, verbs and nouns.³

Verb bases occur with portmanteau mood-person-number or tense-person-number suffixes.⁴

Noun bases are those bases which do not occur with mood-person-number or tense-person-number suffixes and which, in addition, have been observed to occur with suffixes marking the following categories:

-ba subject; -ra possession/object; -tanta dual subject/dual possession/dual object; -ka plural subject/plural possession/plural object; -o vocative case; location, -?i in, -?aa on, -ka around, -kanta place, -taari place, -nto at, -ni to, -na passage, -runa hollow, -bau over; -hai direction from; -nohai instrument; -nti accompaniment; -hampata accompaniment; -ra reference; -ra acquisition; -kaara reason; -bata connection; shape, -anta elongated, -ru small, -uta bag shaped.

Pronouns are a subclass of nouns since many of the suffixes that occur with nouns occur also with pronouns. They differ from other nouns in that they are not expandable to the left or right in noun phrases. Pronouns include personal, locational and interrogative forms. Locational and interrogative pronouns will be listed later. The personal pronouns are listed here for reference so that the examples involving them may be followed more easily. The comma (,) in the following chart is to be read 'or':

	SUBJECT PRONOUNS		
	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
First Person	tere, te	te(re)-tanta	te(re)-nabu
Second Person	are	ne-tanta	ne, ne-nabu
Third Person	bi-ba	bi-tanta	bi-ka, bi-nabu-ka
	OBJECT or POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS		
	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
First Person	tiri, ti	ti(ri)-tanta	ti(ri)-nabu
Second Person	ari, ai	ni-tanta	ni, ni-nabu
Third Person	bi-ra	bi-tanta	bi-ka, bi-nabu-ka

It will be noted from the pronoun chart that there is no distinction between the third dual subject pronouns and the third dual object/possessive pronouns nor between the third plural subject pronouns and the third plural object/possessive pronouns. The suffix -tanta marks dual number and -nabu marks plural number.

bi-ba ari taba-ira-ma person-subject you see-he:has-indicative

'He has seen you.'

A hyphen (-) is used to indicate morpheme boundaries. A single morpheme often needs to be translated by a phrase in English and the colon (:) is used to join words of such phrases to indicate that the phrase is a unit.⁵

3. Noun Classes.

Noun bases are divided into two classes on the basis of their occurrence with -ba or -bano 'subject marker' suffixes. The -ba class includes the names of people and some kinship terms.

ori-ba bi-ro Ori-ba go-he 'Ori went.'

bakaa-ba bi-ro elder:brother-ba go-he 'The elder brother went.'

The -ba class kinship terms are listed here for reference:

<u>ti</u> <u>?o-ba</u> my father	<u>ti</u> <u>airaabi-ba</u> my father-in-law
<u>ti</u> <u>no-ba</u> my mother	<u>ti</u> <u>aintaanta-ba</u> my mother-in-law
<u>ti</u> <u>bakaa-ba</u> my elder brother	<u>ti</u> <u>tona?o-ba</u> my father-in-law (wife's)
<u>ti</u> <u>nakaa-ba</u> my elder sister	<u>ti</u> <u>tonano-ba</u> my mother-in-law (wife's)
<u>ti</u> <u>nau-ba</u> my uncle(mother's brother)	<u>ti</u> <u>aitua-ba</u> my brother-in-law
<u>ti</u> <u>maabu-ba</u> my aunt(mother's sister)	<u>ti</u> <u>maati-ba</u> my sister-in-law
<u>ti</u> <u>naa?u-ba</u> my grandfather	<u>ti</u> <u>baraa?o-ba</u> my daughter-in-law
<u>ti</u> <u>taato-ba</u> my grandmother	<u>ti</u> <u>naa?utu-ba</u> my daughter-in-law(altern. form)
	<u>ti</u> <u>nirau-ba</u> my son-in-law (form uncertain)

The -bano class includes some kinship terms and any noun except a personal name:

?ata-bano bi-ro younger:brother-bano go-he 'The younger brother went.'

ori-bano hi?iri-ro stone-bano fall-it 'The stone fell down.'

The -bano class kinship terms are listed here for reference:

<u>ti</u> <u>?ata</u> my younger brother	<u>ti</u> <u>maa?u</u> my son
<u>ti</u> <u>aura</u> my younger sister	<u>ti</u> <u>raabura</u> my daughter
<u>ti</u> <u>baati</u> my husband	<u>ti</u> <u>nainti</u> my grandson
<u>ti</u> <u>naata</u> my wife	<u>ti</u> <u>naunti</u> my nephew/niece (sister's children)
<u>ti</u> <u>maarunti</u> my nephew/niece (brother's children)	

It is of interest to note that the terms for younger brother, younger sister, son, daughter, nephew/niece are -bano class nouns whereas the terms for elder brother, elder sister, father, mother, uncle and aunt are -ba class nouns.

4. Noun Suffixes.

Nouns occur with suffixes marking the categories listed in section 2. In addition they occur with the following suffixes which also occur freely with verbs:

-bau contrary to fact statement, -be reported speech, -e interrogation, -ma predication/emphasis (-ma marks indicative mood when it occurs with verbs).

Order of Suffixes.

The suffix orders presented here are only tentative since the analysis is based on a limited amount of data. A maximum of three orders of suffixes has been noted to occur at one time. The -ba class nouns have been charted separately from the -banu class nouns because suffixes denoting shape occur in different orders in the two classes. Also certain suffixes which occur with the -banu class do not occur with the -ba class.

The -ba class suffix order may be set out in formula form as follows:

BASE + order 1 + order 2 + order 3 + order 4

Order 1: The following suffixes may occur in the first order following the base: -ba subject, -ra object/possession, -tanta dual subject/dual object/dual possession, -ka plural subject/plural object/plural possession, -o vocative case. One member of this order must always occur.

Order 2: The following suffixes denoting shape occur in the second order following the base: -anta elongated, -ru small, -uta bag shaped. The occurrence of a member of this class of suffixes is optional.

Order 3: The following suffixes occur in the third order following the base: -bata and, -ra reference, -nti accompaniment, -hampata accompaniment, -kaara reason. The occurrence of a member of this class of suffixes is optional.

Order 4: The following suffixes occur in the fourth order following the base: -e interrogation, -ma predication/emphasis, -be reported speech, -?ai limitation. The occurrence of a member of this class of suffixes is optional.

The co-occurrence possibilities of suffixes of order 2 with those of order 3 is not yet known.

The -bano class suffix order may be set out in formula form as follows:

BASE ± order 1 ± order 2 ± order 3 ± order 4

A -bano base may occur alone, i.e., without suffixes. All suffixes are optional.

Order 1: The following suffixes denoting shape occur in the first order following the base: -anta elongated, -ru small, -uta bag shaped.

Order 2: The following suffixes occur in the second order following the base: -bano subject, -o vocative case, -?i in, -?aa on, -ka around, -kanta place, -taari place, -nto at, -ni to, -na passage, -runa hollow, -bau over, -nohai instrument, -nti accompaniment, -hampata accompaniment, -ra reference, -ra acquisition, -kaara reason, -bata and.

Order 3: The following suffixes occur in third order following the base: -hai from, -?ai limitation.

Order 4: The following suffixes occur in fourth order following the base: -e interrogation, -ma predication/emphasis, -be reported speech.

Unplaced in the above orders is -bau 'contrary to fact statement' which may prove to belong to order 3, and the number suffixes -tanta 'dual' and -nabu 'plural' which are possibly members of orders 1 or 2.

Also the possible combinations occurring with the limitation suffix -?ai are unknown. (These are listed as order 4 in the -ba chart and as order 3 in the -bano chart.)

Note that the second person singular suffix -ra or the third person singular suffix -ro obligatorily occurs following -nti 'accompaniment', -hai 'from' and -nohai 'instrument'. However, any one of the latter three suffixes together with either of the person suffixes, are considered as belonging to the same order. Thus -nti 'accompaniment' is considered for the -ba class nouns as occupying position 3 A and -ra 'second person singular' or -ro 'third person singular' as occupying position 3 B:

ori-ka-nti-ra ani-ra Ori-and-with-you come-you 'You came with Ori.'

For -bano class nouns -nti 'accompaniment' and -nohai 'instrument' occupy position 2 A and -ra or -ro occupy position 2 B; and -hai 'from' occupies position 3 A and -ra or -ro occupy position 3 B:

bairi-nti-ra ani-ra dog-with-you come-you 'You came with the dog.'

ai?u-nohai-ro ari-ro leg-instrument-he hit-he 'He hit it with his foot.'

rai-hai-ro uri-ro Lae-from-he come:up-he 'He came up from Lae.'

Location suffixes have not been listed as occurring with -ba class noun bases. However, one example has been noted in text material where the location suffix -ini 'at/to' follows -ra, which normally marks possession or object:

bi-ra-ini baati ?i-ro person-object-to husband become-she

'She became married to him.'

4.1. Subject and Object/Possession Constructions.

Subject and object/possession markers occur as first order suffixes with the -ba class nouns, and the subject marker -bano occurs as a second order suffix with the -bano class nouns. Both of these constructions are included in this section so that the construction contrasts involving -ba and -bano class nouns may be observed.

The -ba Class Nouns.

The suffix -ba, as noted earlier, marks -ba class nouns for subject. It also marks singular number. The suffix -ra marks a -ba class noun for singular object. A subject and an object construction are contrasted below:

bakaa-ba ari-ro elder:brother-ba hit-he 'The elder brother hit (him/it).'

bakaa-ra ari-ro elder:brother-ra hit-he 'He hit the elder brother.'

When a noun base plus the suffix -ra occurs preceding another noun, the suffix -ra marks possession. Thus, noun base-ra preceding a noun is a possessive construction while noun base-ra preceding a verb is an object construction. The two constructions are contrasted in the following examples:

bakaa-ra naabu tabe-ro elder:brother-ra house see-he 'He saw the elder

brother's house.'

bakaa-ra tabe-ro elder:brother-ra see-he 'He saw the elder brother.'

The suffix -tanta (-hanta with some speakers) marks -ba class nouns for dual, and -ka marks -ba class nouns for plural. There is no distinction between subject, object or possession forms. Position before noun marks subject or possession. Position after free subject and position before **verb** marks object. Other free forms and person suffix of verb help avoid ambiguity:

bakaa-tanta aantau aru-ke-tanta elder:brother-dual animals hit-completive-dual

'The two elder brothers killed animals.'

bakaa-ka naabu tabe-ro elder:brother-ka house see-he 'He saw the elder
brothers' house.'

nahenti-bano bakaa-ka tabe-ro woman-subject elder:brother-ka she-she

'The woman saw the elder brothers.'

Thus it will be noted that the behavior of a -ba class noun parallels the third person pronoun forms listed earlier. (The pronoun chart also lists an alternative suffix -nabu-ka. It may be that further data will show that this alternative form also occurs with other -ba class nouns.)

The -bano Class Nouns.

The -bano class nouns are marked optionally for subject by -bano. (Some speakers use -mano especially after stems containing a nasal consonant.) A longer form -banora occurs and may be an emphatic form but further analysis is needed.

?ata-bano bi-ro younger:brother-bano go-he 'The younger brother went.'

nahenti bi-ro woman go-she 'The woman went.'

A -bano class noun occurring as object or possessive is unmarked. Position before the noun possessed marks possession and position after the subject and/or other features such as person suffix of the verb help distinguish object.

?ata naabu tabe-ro younger:brother house see-he 'He saw the younger brother's
house.'

are ti ?ata tabe-ra-e you:sing. my younger:brother see-you-interrogative

'Did you see my younger brother?'

A -bano class noun is usually unmarked for number. However, -tanta 'dual' has been noted to occur and further data may reveal that -nabu 'plural' also occurs.

baraata-tanta ani-# girl-dual come-they 'The two girls came.'

baraata-tanta-bano ani-# girl-dual-subject come-they 'The two girls came.'

The above examples show that -tanta 'dual' is not mutually substitutable with -bano 'subject marker'. However, -tanta does seem to be mutually substitutable with -ba 'subject marker'.

Occurrence of -ba Class Noun Markers with -bano Class Nouns.

When the noun is modified by the specifiers maa 'this' and bi 'that' or when the noun is modified by a clause, the -bano class nouns occur with -ba class markers: -ba subject, -ra object/possession, -ka plural subject/plural object/ plural possession.

bi baraata-ba bare-ro that girl-ba take-she 'That girl took it.'

(Note that this contrasts with the -bano construction: baraata-bano bare-ro girl-bano take-she 'The girl took it.')

maa baraata-ra a-mi-ro this girl-ra her-give-he 'He gave it to this girl.'

(Compare -bano construction where the object noun is unmarked: baraata a-mi-ro girl her-give-he 'He gave it to the girl.')

te bi baraata-ka tabe-# I those girl-ka see-I 'I see those girls.'

nahenti-bano bat-o haka-ba tai-ro woman-bano put-far:past:third:person

things-ba is-it 'The things that the woman had put there are there.' (Lit.:

'The woman had put things are there.')

bi-ba nahenti-bano bat-o haka-ra bare-ro person-subject(he) woman-bano

put-far:past:third:person things-ra take-he 'He took the things that

the woman had put there.'

te bata-una haka-ra bare-ro I put-I:have things-ra take-he 'He took the

things that I have put there.' (He took the I have put things.)

A few -bano class nouns, viz. the names of animals or birds that are personalized in stories, may occur with -ba 'subject' or -ra 'object':

rori'o-ba kara unte-ro Parrot-ba food cook-he 'Parrot cooked the food.'

(Compare with the -bano construction: rori'o-bano kara ne-ro parrot-bano food eat-he 'The parrot ate the food.')

rori'o-ra tabe-ro Parrot-ra see-he 'He saw Parrot.'

(Compare with the following construction where the -bano class noun is unmarked:

rori'o tabe-ro parrot see-he 'He saw the parrot.')

Certain clauses when occurring as subject or object of a larger construction may be marked by -ba 'subject', -ra 'object' or -ka 'plural subject/plural object'.

?utu b-u-ba-ma bi-ro cease go-third:person:far:past-ba-emphatic go-he

'The one who was dead went.'

(Compare: ?utu b-ura cease go-third:person:far:past 'He died.')

?utu b-u-ra tabe-ro cease go-far:past:third:person-ra see-he 'He saw

the one that was dead (become ceased -- deceased).'

baana bai bara-t-o-ka ani-# ghost are take-completive-far:past:third:person-ka

come-they 'All the things that were ghosts came.'

A -bano noun may occur as subject in apposition with a pronoun. Thus, there are four ways the subject may be indicated:

nahenti bi-ba bi-ro woman person-subject(she) go-she 'The woman, she went.'

bi nahenti-ba bi-ro that woman-subject go-she 'That woman went.'

nahenti-bano bi-ro woman-subject go-she 'The woman went.'

nahenti bi-ro woman go-she 'The woman went.'

4.2. Vocative Case.

The suffix -o marks a person addressed and occurs with -ba class nouns:

ori-o Ori-o 'Ori!'

h-intaanta-o my-mother:in:law-o 'My mother-in-law!'

ti bakaa-o my elder:brother-o 'My elder brother!'

The vocative marker has been noted to occur with a limited number of -bano class nouns:

ti ?ata-o younger:brother-o 'My younger brother!'

ti maa?u-o my son-o 'My son!'

ti bainti-o my man-o 'My man!!' 'My friend!'

A -ba class noun may occur in a vocative construction without the vocative suffix: ori 'Ori!'. Also a person may tell his own name and the name will occur without a suffix. Thus a person named 'Ori' might answer ori 'Ori' when asked his name. These are the only occasions that a -ba class noun occurs without what has been termed obligatory first order suffixes.

4.3. Conjunctions.

There are two connective suffixes -bata 'and' and -ka 'and'. -bata occurs with both noun classes and -ka occurs with the -ba class only.

These suffixes indicate that two or more nouns are co-ordinate. They occur suffixed to each noun in the co-ordinate construction.

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of -bata:

ori-ba-bata itai-ba-bata bi-# Ori-subject-bata Itai-subject-bata go-they
'Ori and Itai went.'

ori-ra-bata itai-ra-bata tabe-# Ori-object-bata Itai-object-bata see-I
'I see Ori and Itai.'

ori-bano-bata katari-bano-bata hi'iri-# stone-subject-bata wood-subject-bata
fell-they 'Stones and wood fell down.'

ori-bata katari-bata bare-ro stone-bata wood-bata take-he
'He took stones and wood.'

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of -ka. (Note that -ka in this construction does not mark the noun base for plural number -- see section 4.1 -- but marks the fact that more than one phrase head is occurring.)

ori-ka itai-ka bi-# Ori-ka Itai-ka go-they 'Ori and Itai went.'

te ori-ka itai-ka tabe-# I Ori-ka Itai-ka see-I 'I see Ori and Itai.'

ori-ka itai-ka naabu tabe-# Ori-ka Itai-ka house see-I 'I see Ori and Itai's
house.'

The first two examples listed with -bata and the first two examples listed with -ka are apparently alternative ways of saying the same thing.

In the following example a -ba-bata construction cannot be substituted for a -ka construction:

te ori-ra no-ka-ma I Ori-poss. mother-ka-predication 'I am Ori's mother.'

In the following -bata construction note that the -ba class nouns occurring with -bata 'and' cannot be substituted for -ka 'and' constructions:

ori-ba-bata bi-reba Ori-subject-bata go-he:will 'Ori will go too.'

kia bainti-bano-bata bai-ro no man-subject-bata is-he 'There wasn't a man there.'

bi-ka-bata bi-reka person-plural-bata go-they:will 'They will go too.'

In the following expression note that ori-ka tells who the person is, other than the speaker, included in the pronoun te-tanta 'We two':

te-tanta ori-ka bai first:person-dual Ori-ka are 'I and Ori are here.'

Lit.: 'We two and Ori are here.'

Often items are simply listed without any connective suffix:

te ?amaa kara baara ?eta kaa?a ne-# sweet:potato taro yam banana sugar:cane
eat-I 'I eat sweet potatoes, taro, yams, bananas and sugar cane.'

4.4 Location Markers.

Before listing suffixes that indicate location and direction a few comments need to be made about location word bases which can be termed location pronouns. Location pronouns may indicate whether an object is above the speaker, level with the speaker, or below the speaker. They may indicate whether an object is near or far from the speaker. They may indicate whether an object is on the other side of something that is between the speaker and the object. The concept of distance is relative. What may be considered close at one time may be considered far at another time when it is being compared with some place closer.

Set 1.

The following bases refer to objects in a direct line from the speaker. There are apparently four degrees of nearness in this set. It is clear from text material, for example, that the form mia 'down' is used of objects that are close and mua 'down far' is used of objects that are further away. It is not so certain that the forms with reduplicated first syllable are also marking a similar contrast. However, they are tentatively analyzed as such here:

mia down mimia down more mua down far mumua down further

biti along hibiti along more butu along far bubutu along further

bi, biri up bibi, bibiri up more bu, buru up far bubu, buburu up further

Set 2.

The following set refer to objects (or places) that are on the other side of something between the object and the speaker. (The object may be a wall or a mountain.)

beba on the other side of and down -- around and down

beta on the other side of and level

bera on the other side of and up

Set 3.

The following set also refers to objects that are on the other side of something between the object and the speaker. The difference in meaning between this set and set 2 is not yet clear. However, it is to be noted that this set never occurs in close-knit verb phrases, while set 2 above does.

maabi on the other side of and down

maati on the other side of and level

maari on the other side of and up

Examples of Sets 1, 2 and 3 location pronouns used in larger constructions:

te mia-ʔi baite-# I down-in sleep-I 'I slept down in there.'

naabu butu-ra-ʔaa bai-ro house along:far-place-on is-it 'The house is over on there.'

buku beba-nto bai-ro book beba-at is-it 'The book is on the bottom (of a pile).'

rai beba-ini bai-ro Lae beba-at is-it 'Lae is over down there.' (re. coastal town)

koroka beba-ini bai-ro Goroka beta-at is-it 'Goroka is over along there.'

(re. a highland town)

taabu maaʔaa maabi-ni bai-ro Gadsup place maabi-at is-it

'The Gadsup place is over down there.'

Comparing the three sets listed above it will be noted that often the final consonant b means 'down', t means 'level' and r means 'up'. This is also the case with the three direction words which occur only in close-knit verb phrases: baabi down, baati along, level, baari up.

The following close-knit verb phrases should be noted as they throw light on the form of some of the word bases listed:

buabu re-ro He jumped down. (re 'do', -ro 'he')

butu re-ro He jumped along.

buru re-ro He jumped up.

beba re-ro He came outside. (He outsided) He came over and down.
(A person usually comes down from a house even though the house might be on the ground.)

beta re-ro He came over and along.

bera re-ro He came over and up.

baabi re-ro He climbs down.

baati re-ro He climbs over.

baari re-ro He climbs up.

Other location pronouns are:

maa here, hi ~ mi⁶ there, bai close, auma close, niara far.

Occurring with many location constructions is the suffix -ra 'place'. A noun base plus -ra is considered a compound word base. Note that a place named after a 'flea' (taru) is called taru-ra 'flea place'. Most Tairora place names end in -ra. Certain location pronouns require -ra when they occur with certain location suffixes. In the following examples optional occurrence of -ra is contrasted with its obligatory occurrence. In the first example -ra is optional. In the second -ra is obligatory:

maa-ra-?i here-place-in 'In here' maa-?i here-in 'In here'

bi-ra-?i there-place-in 'In there' (*bi-?i there-in 'In there' does not occur.)

Location Suffixes.

-?i denotes location 'in'.

naabu-?i bai-# house-in am-I 'I am in the house.'

kure-?i bate-ro container-in put-he 'He put it in the container.'

butu-ra-?i bai-ro along-place-in is-it 'It is along in there.'

-?aa denotes location 'on'. A further form -?aata has been noted with meaning similar to -?aa. Additional data should clarify the distinction in meaning, if any.

naabu-?aa bai-# house-on am-I 'I am on the house.'

kure-?aa bate-ro container-on put-he 'He put it on the container.'

maa-?aa-ma bai-ro here-on-emphatic is-it 'It is on here.'

-ka indicates location 'around'.

kau?u-ka rumpe-ro arm-around tie-he 'He tied it around the arm.'

katari-ka bai-ro post-around is-it 'It is around the post.'

-kanta indicates 'place' or 'area' -- especially a flat area.

kainantu-kanta bai-ro Kainantu-place is-it 'It is in the Kainantu area.'

naaho-kanta bi-rera garden-place go-I:will 'I will go to the garden area.'

bata-kanta baita-ana ground-place sleep-imv. 'Sleep on the ground!'

bi-kanta baite-ro there-place sleep-he 'He slept at that place.'

-taari indicates 'place' or 'area'.

mua-taari bi-ro down-place go-he 'He went down there.'

beba-taari bi-ro beba-place go-he 'He went down to the coast.'

-nto indicates place 'at'. In data so far this suffix occurs only with location pronouns.

maa-nto bai-rera here-at be-I:will 'I will stay here.'

mi-nto bai-reba there-at be-he:will 'He will stay there.'

bai-nto bai-ro close-at is-it 'It is near.'

niara-nto bai-ro far-at is-it 'It is far.'

-ni -ini (allomorph -ini occurs after a or aa.) This suffix indicates motion towards or position at a place. This suffix has a much wider distribution than -nto above.

aakara-ini bi-rera Asara-to go-I:will 'I will go to Asara.'

maa-ini bate-ro here-at put-he 'He put it here.'

mi-ni bu-ana there-to go-you:imv. 'Go there!'

naaho-ni bi-ro garden-to go-he 'He went to the garden.'

-na ~ -ena (allomorph -ena occurs after i). This suffix is used of passage-like locations.

aato-na ori?ete-ro ear-passage go:inside-it 'It went inside the ear passage.'

?enti-ena o?ubi-ro door-passage sit-he 'He sat in the doorway.'

mi-na bu-ana there-passage go-you:imv. 'Go along in there!'

maa-na ani-ena here-passage come-you:imv. 'Come along in here!'

Note also: ai?i-ena nose-passage 'nostril', ra?a-na buttock-passage 'anus'.

-runa is used of hollows such as a river bed, ditch or drain.

namari-runu oru bi-ro water-hollow along go-he 'He went along the river bed.'

mi-runu bu-ana there-hollow go-you:imv. 'Go along there (in that ditch)!'

aara-runu bi-ro road-hollow go-he 'He went along the road.'

bobara-runu bi-rera Bobara-hollow go-I:will 'I will go to Bobara.' (name of low garden area near Suwaira.)

-bau indicates location 'over'.

tainta-bau raa?u bate-ro table-over tip put-he 'He put(food) over the table.'

iri-bau bi-ro bridge-over go-he 'He went over the bridge.'

Frequently after -?i 'in' (but never after -?aa 'on') and -bau 'over' the suffix -ra has been noted to occur. This suffix is tentatively analyzed as the -ra 'place' noted earlier. Thus a simple word base plus location suffix plus -ra is also considered a compound word base.

naabu-?i-ra bai-ro house-in-place is-he 'He is in the house (in the house place).'

ori-bau-ra bate-ro stone-over-place put-he 'He put (dirt) over the stones.'

aahaka-?i-ra-ini bi-ro grass-in-place-to go-he 'He went to the grasslands.'
(Grasslands and forest areas are considered places to go in to.)

bi-ra-?i-ra-ini bi-ro there-place-in-place-to go-he 'He went to in there.'
(to the 'there in' place)

Apart from the occurrence of two location suffixes in the one word noted above, all the location suffixes listed so far occur in mutually substitutable distribution with the exception of -?i 'in' which may occur after -runa 'hollow'. It is suspected, however, that if -?i may occur then at least -?aa 'on' may occur also.

4.5 Direction From.

There are three suffixes that occur followed by -ra second person singular or -ro third person singular when the subject of the construction is also second person singular or third person singular, respectively. These

suffixes are -hai 'direction from', -nohai 'instrument' and -nti 'accompaniment'. (See also comments in section on suffix orders.)

-hai -ihai (allomorph -ihai occurs after a) indicates 'direction from'. This suffix occurs in order 3 (-bano class nouns). The forms are:

-hai First person singular and all plural forms

-hai-ra Second person singular

-hai-ro Third person singular

kainantu-hai-ro uri-ro Kainantu-from-he come:up-he

'He came up from Kainantu.'

aupora-ihai ani-# Aupora-from come-I 'I came from Aupora.'

bi-ra-ʔaa-hai-ra ani-ra there-place-on-from-you come-you

'You came from on there.'

beba-nto-hai-ro bare-ro down:around-at-from-he take-he

'He took it from the bottom.'

4.6 Instrument.

-nohai (some speakers use -ʔohai or -ʔotai or -ʔo) marks 'instrument'. This suffix occurs in order 2 with -bano nouns. -nohai also occurs with the -ba class pronoun bi which means 'it' or 'that' in -nohai constructions. The -ba class pronoun form obligatorily occurs with -ra which is considered to be the same suffix as the possessive/object -ra. -nohai occurs following -ra. The forms are:

-nohai First person singular and all plural forms

-nohai-ra Second person singular

-nohai-ro Third person singular

bi-ra-nohai ari-# that-object-with hit-I 'I hit it with that.'

rori-nohai-ro teʔe-ro axe-with-he cut-he 'He cut it with an axe.'

aiʔu-nohai-ra utubara-ana foot-with-you pick:up-you:imperative

'Pick it up with your foot!'

4.7 Accompaniment.

-nti indicates 'accompaniment' of a singular or plural subject with a single person or thing. -nti always occurs with -ka 'and' in -ba class nouns. -nti occurs in order 3 with -ba nouns and in order 2 with -bano nouns. The forms are:

(-ka)-nti First person singular and all plural forms

(-ka)-nti-ra Second person singular

(-ka)-nti-ro Third person singular

nahenti-nti-ro ani-ro wo^man-with-he come-he 'He came with a woman.'

bainti-bano bairi-nti-ro ani-ro man-subject dog-with-he come-he

'The man came with a dog.'

ta-ka-nti-ra-e ani-ra who-and-with-you-interrogative come-you

'With whom did you come?'

ori-ka-nti ani-# Ori-and-with come-I 'I came with Ori.'

ai-nti bi-rera you-with go-I:will 'I will go with you.'

-hampata indicates 'accompaniment' by one or more persons or things. This suffix differs from -nti in that it does not occur with a person suffix following.

e?ara-hampata uri-# white:man-with come:up-I 'I came up with a white man.'

When -hampata occurs with a -ba noun, -ra 'object' or -ka 'plural' must occur between the base and -hampata. In this case -ka and -ra relate -hampata to the base.

bi-ra-hampata ni-# that-object-with walk-I 'I went about with him.'

bi-ka-hampata ni-# those-plural-with walk-I 'I went about with them.'

4.8 Reference.

-ra -era(after i) -ara(after u) indicate 'reference' -- person or thing referred to or spoken to. This suffix occurs in order 3 with -ba nouns and in order 2 with -bano nouns. This suffix occurs following -ra 'object' or -ka 'plural' with -ba nouns:

ori-ra-ra-ma ti-ro Ori-object-ref.-emphatic say-he 'He is talking about Ori.'

ori-era-ma ti-ro stone-ref.-emphatic say-he 'He is talking about the stone.'

bi-ka-ra-ma ti-ra those-plural-ref.-emphatic say-you

'You were talking about them.'

ti maa'u-ara bu-an-e ti-ro my son-ref. go-you:imv.-reported:speech say-he

'He said "Go away!" to my son.'

4.9 Acquisition.

-ra ~ -era(after i) indicates 'acquisition'. This suffix occurs in order 2 with -bano nouns. When -ra occurs with the -ba pronoun bi 'it', it follows the object marker -ra as illustrated below. The suffix -ra is tentatively analyzed as being separate from the reference suffix -ra above. Note that in the first example listed below allomorph -ra occurs after u whereas allomorph -ara of the reference suffix occurs after u as illustrated by an example above.

aantau-ra bi-rera animal-for go-I:will 'I will go for bush animals.'

naama-ra rate-ro milk-for cry-he 'He(baby) crys for milk.'

iha-ra bi-# fuel-for go-I 'I went for fuel.'

namari-era bi-ro water-for go-he 'He went for water.'

bi-ra-ra tubi-# it-object-for come:down-I 'I came down for that.'

In all the above acquisitional examples a verbal expression may be substituted for the word base plus -ra.

iha bara-rera bi-# fuel get-I:will go-I 'I went to get fuel.'

Such a verbal expression may not be substituted for word base plus the -ra 'reference' suffix. This is considered as additional evidence for analyzing the reference suffix and the acquisitional suffix as two different morphemes.

4.10 Reason.

-kaara -kaar(preceding -e 'interrogation') marks the reason ('trouble reason') for a verbal action. This suffix occurs order 3 with -ba nouns and order 2 with -bano nouns. -ba nouns require -ra or -ka before -kaara.

nana-kaar-e tirori-ro what-reason-interr. dispute-he

'What is he disputing over?'

nahenti-kaara-ma woman-reason-pred. 'It is because of a woman.'

ori-ra-kaara ari-ro Ori-ra-reason fight-he 'He had a fight over Ori.'
(because of Ori)

4.11 Contrary to Fact Statement.

-bau (-au with some speakers) marks the preceding noun base as contrary to fact. This suffix occurs with -bano nouns and possibly occurs in order 3 after the base. Further data may show that this suffix occurs with -ba nouns.

bairi-bau-ma dog-bau-predicative 'That isn't a dog!'

The negative kia is optional in these constructions.

kia nahenti-bau-ma negative woman-bau-predicative

'That isn't a woman!'

4.12 Predication.

-ma marks a noun as predicate in a construction not containing a verb. It occurs in order 4 with both -ba and -bano nouns.

naabu-ma house-ma 'It is a house.'

katari-ma tree-ma 'It is a tree.'

niara-ini-ma far-to-ma 'It is a long way.'

When -ma occurs following a noun in a construction containing a verb it emphasizes that noun:

bainti-bano ti huru-ma bare-ro man-subject my bow-ma take-he

'The man took my bow.'

When -ma occurs with verbs it marks indicative mood. -ma occurs in contrast to -e 'interrogative' except where -ma occurs emphasizing the verb modifier in an imperative construction. In this type of construction -e never occurs:

tota-ma bara-a immediately-ma take-impv. 'Take it at once!'

4.13 Interrogation.

-e marks interrogation; and, like -ma, this suffix may occur suffixed to a verb or a noun. When both a noun and a verb occur, -e marks emphasis of the verb or noun to which it is suffixed.

naabu-e house-interr. 'Is it a house?'

ti huru-e bare-ro my bow-interr. take-he 'Did he take my bow?'

ti huru bare-ro-e my bow take-he-interr. 'Did he take my bow?'

-e occurs in order 4 with both -ba and -bano nouns.

4.14 Reported Speech.

-be marks reported, shouted or emphatic speech. It occurs order 4 with both -ba and -bano nouns. Compare the following constructions:

naabu-ma house-predicative 'It is a house.'

naabu-be house-be 'It is a house!' (shouted or emphasized)

naabu-be ti-ro house-be say-he 'It is a house, he said.'

A shouted form is used for example when a message is shouted across from one village to another.

4.15 Limitation.

-?ai 'only'. This suffix has tentatively been listed as order 4 in -ba nouns and order 3 with -bano nouns.

uba-?ai iri-ro sound-only hear-he 'He heard the sound only.'

katari-?ai bare-ro wood-only take-he 'He brought the wood only.'

bi-ba-?ai bi-ro that-subject-only go-he 'Only he went.'

-?auta 'only' occurs uniquely with personal pronouns and the inclusive marker make (in data so far). The order of this suffix has not been determined.

taaro?a bi-ra-?auta ra?a-ke-ro nettles that-object-only break-complete-he

'He broke off nettles only.'

itai-ra ori-ra ai make butu ni ke-# te-?auta taabu maa?aa-ini otu ni-#

Itai-object Ori-object you inclusive along walk leave-we we-only Gadsup
place-to down walk-we 'We left Ori, Itai and you and we went down to
the Gadsup place.'

aito-ka nobari-ka make-?auta ani-# Aito-and Nobari-and inclusive-only

came-they 'Only Aito and Nobari came.'

-raa -eraa(after i) 'alone' has been noted to occur only with reflexive pronouns.⁵

nari-era baite-ro himself-alone sleep-he 'He slept alone.'

tenta-raa bi-rera myself-alone go-I:will 'I will go alone.'

4.16 Shape.

-anta elongated, tall; -ru -uru(after a) short, small; -uta bag shaped. These suffixes denote the characteristic shape of an object or person. They occur in stories more than in everyday conversation. The elder brother in a story is often the 'tall' elder brother - just as in English stories the hero is handsome. As noted earlier the shape suffixes occur in second order with -ba class nouns and in first order with -bano nouns.

bakaa-b-anta ani-ro elder:brother-subject-long come-he

'The tall elder brother came.'

kaaker-anta-bano bi-ro lizzard-long-subject go-he 'The long lizzard went.'

taari-anta mat-long 'a long mat'; turu-ru headrest-small 'a small headrest';

bainti-ru child-small 'a child'; nahenti-ru woman-small 'a small woman';

uta-uta bag-uta 'a bag'; abuna-uta cape-uta 'a cape'.

4.17 Suffix Residue.

The following three suffixes, -haa 'thing', -naa 'person' and -upiri 'person or thing' appear to be derivational suffixes, that is, they form compound word bases.

-haa 'thing' 'piece'.

soti-haa t-mi-ena shirt-thing me-give-impv. 'Give me the shirt!'

tutuka-haa-ma fence-thing-predication 'It is a post for a fence.'

?ora-haa-ma bad-thing-predication 'That's bad!'

-naa 'person'. The resulting compound consisting of word base plus -naa is a -ba class noun.

bo bata-naa-ba ani-ro another ground-person-subject come-he

'A person from another place came.' (i.e. a foreigner)

ho?are-naa-ba-ma first-person-subject-predication

'He is the first.' 'He is the first born.'

When -naa follows -hai 'from', -hai is not followed by either person suffix, -ra 'second person singular' or -ro 'third person singular':

aupora-ihai-naa-ba-ma Aupora-from-person-subject-predication

'He is a person from Aupora.' 'It is an Aupora person.'

-naa 'person' contrasts with -taa 'enemy person' in the only instance which occurs in the data:

nabu-naa-ba-ma ??-person-subject-predication 'It is a clan member.'

'It is a friendly person.'

nabu-taa-ba-ma ??-enemy:person-subject-predication 'It is an enemy.'

-upiri 'person', 'thing'. The resulting compound with -upiri occurs with suffixes that mark -bano nouns.

bainti uara-upiri-bano ihi re-ro child little-person-subject song do-he

'A child, a little one was dancing.'

This suffix also nominalizes a verb expression:

naama na-ira-upiri-bano taa?a ru?uti-ro milk eat-he:has-person-subject

drum hit-he 'A person who drinks milk was hitting a drum.' (This was said sarcastically of a youth about ten years old.)

-ntauta and -ntainti augment the noun base.

nahenti-ntainti bi-# woman-augment go-they 'A lot of women went.'

uta-ntauta bare-ro bag-augment take-he 'He took a lot of bags.'

bukai-ntauta-ma long-augment-predication 'It is very long.'

5. Possessive Prefixes.

Possessive prefixes occur with a limited number of noun bases:

	<u>1st. person</u>	<u>2nd. & 3rd. per. sing.</u>	<u>3rd. person plural</u>
name	<u>h</u> -utu	autu	<u>n</u> -utu
leg	<u>h</u> -i?u	ai?u	ai?u
fear	<u>h</u> -aatu	aatu	<u>n</u> -aatu
neck	aunta	aunta	<u>n</u> -unta

h- is clearly first person, n- is clearly plural, and perhaps initial a is second and third person singular. (Note that the indirect object pronoun

prefixes occurring with verbs are: h- ti- first person; a- second and third person singular; n- second and third person plural.) The forms for 'fear' occur always as listed above. The other forms occur infrequently--the usual way of indicating possession being preferred, i.e., a free possessive pronoun followed by an unprefix noun.

bi-ka n-aatu ?ete-ro person-plural their-fear fright-he

'He is frightened because of them.'

h-i?u iha bi-ro my-leg fire go-it 'My leg pains.'

Both free and bound forms may occur together: ti h-utu my my-name (or) h-utu my-name 'my name'. Also to be noted is the difference between the referential term for 'my mother-in-law' which occurs without a prefix and the vocative form which occurs with the prefix:

ti aintaanta-ba bi-ro my mother:in:law-subject go-she 'My mother-in-law went.'

h-intaanta-o my-mother:in:law-vocative 'My mother-in-law!'

Interrogative Pronouns.

Interrogative pronouns are listed here for reference.

ta ~ tai 'where'. (Allomorph tai occurs when there is no suffix present: tai ni-ra-e where walk-you-interrogative 'Where did you go?') ta occurs with any one of the following suffixes: -ini to; -nto at; -?i in; -?aa on; -na passage; -ihai from; -ra place.

ta-ini-e where-to-interrogative 'Where to?'

ta-nto-e where-at-interrogative 'Where at?'

ta-ihai-r-e where-from-you-interrogative 'Where from?'

ta-ra-?i-e where-place-in-interrogative 'In where?'

ta-ra-?aa-e where-place-on-interrogative 'On where?'

ta-na-e where-passage-interrogative 'Through where?'

ta 'who' (homophonous with ta 'where') occurs with any one of the following suffixes: -ba subject; -ra object; -tanta dual; -ka -uka plural.⁷

ta-ba-be who-subject-interrogative 'Who?' 'Who is it?'⁸

ta-ra huru-e who-object bow-interrogative 'Whose bow?' 'Whose bow is it?'

ta-tanta huru-e who-dual bow-interr. 'What two people's bows are they?'

ta-uka huru-e who-plural bow-interr. 'What people's bows are they?'

ta-ka-nti-ra-e who-and-with-you-interr. 'Who with?' (did you come)

ta 'who' occurs as an unsuffixed form in the following:

ta bainti-b-e who man-subject-interr. 'What man?' 'Who is the man?'

ta bata-naa-b-e who ground-person-subject-interr. 'What place are you?'

tabaka and taire are two forms for 'when'. (tabaka is preferred in the North Tairora but is rarely heard in the Central Tairora (Suwaira).) The morpheme cuts in these two forms are not clear.

nantiake 'how'. The morpheme cuts here are probably nanti 'how', a 'do' (uncertain), ke 'leave', 'How do I leave it?'

nantinanti-e 'How many?'

nana 'what' occurs alone or with the following suffixes: -bano subject; -ra acquisition; -kaara reason; -nohai instrument; -nti accompaniment.

nana or nana-e or nan-e 'What?'

nana katari-e what tree-interrogative 'What sort of a tree is that?'

nana-bano-e what-subject-interrogative 'What did it? -- What caused it?'

nana-r-e what-acquisition-interr. 'What for(have you come)?'

nana-kaar-e what-reason-interr. 'What reason(are they fighting about)?'

nana-nohai-r-e what-instrument-you-interr. 'What with(did you do it)?'

nana-nti-ra-e what-accomp.-you-interr. 'What (did you put it) with?'

'Why'. The forms for 'why' conjugate like a medial past tense verb except that there is no clear plural form.

nantimante occurs with first person and second and third plural

nantibare occurs with second person singular

nantibaroe occurs with third person singular

The final -e is the interrogative suffix.

nantibare kia ani-ra why not come-you 'Why didn't you come?'

nantibaroe kia ani-ro why not come-he 'Why didn't he come?'

6. Conclusion.

This paper has been primarily concerned with the identification and description of affixes that occur with nouns. Certain suffixes treated in this paper mark syntactic relations and in a further paper it is hoped that these syntactic relations might be clarified. A further paper would also deal with free forms that mark nouns, for example, bo 'another', maa 'this', bi 'that'.

No informant was available when this paper was drafted at North Dakota and therefore analysis is only tentative in certain places. Further data, for example, may show that the forms -hai 'from', -nti 'accompaniment' and -nohai 'instrument' which occur with person markers, are a sub-class of verbs; but they have been analyzed as suffixes here.

FOOTNOTES.

1. The present draft of this paper was prepared at the University of North Dakota in the summer of 1962 at a Linguistic Workshop under the direction of Dr. R. S. Pittman of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The writer gratefully acknowledges the help received from Dr. Pittman and colleagues Bruce Hooley and Forrest Brewer.
2. The language classification follows Wurm, S.A. 1960. "The Changing Linguistic Picture in New Guinea", Oceania, Volume XXI No. 2.
3. Additional analysis may show further classes of word bases, possibly reflexive pronouns, numerals and adjectives.
4. For further information on Tairora verb affixes see Vincent, Alex and Lois, "Introductory Notes on Tairora Verb Morphology and Syntax", Oceania Linguistic Monographs, No. 6, 1962.
5. The following reflexive or emphatic pronouns do not distinguish number and do not differ in form for subject, object or possessive relation:

tenta first person (subject, object, possession)

nena second person (subject, object, possession)

nari, nai third person (subject, object, possession)

In the following examples tenta 'first person reflexive' is shown occurring in constructions marking subject, object and possession:

tenta autu-k-unara I:myself make-complete-I:have 'I myself made it.'

or: 'We ourselves made it.'

te tenta tabe-# I myself see-I 'I see myself.'

tenta naabu-ʔi bai-# my:own house-in am-I 'I am in my own house.'

nena 'second person reflexive' is contrasted in the following:

nena autu-ka-aniara you:yourself make-complete-you:singular:have

'You yourself made it.'

nena autu-ka-ara you:yourself make-complete-you:plural:have

'You yourselves made it.'

6. Allomorph mi 'there' occurs in constructions where bi 'up' (See Set 1 Location Pronouns) can potentially occur and where allomorph bi 'there' does not. Thus ambiguity between the homophonous forms bi 'there' and bi 'up' is avoided.

bi-ni 'up-to' bi-nto 'up-at' biri-kanta 'up-place'

mi-ni 'there-to' mi-nto 'there-at' bi-kanta 'there-place'

Note further, as illustrated in the above example, that the allomorph of bi 'up', viz. biri occurs where bi 'there' can potentially occur.

7. -uka occurs also in ti bakaa-uka bi-# my elder:brother-plural go-they 'My elder brother went', where bakaa-uka is an alternative way of saying bakaa-ka. Further data might show -ka is really two homophonous morphemes, i.e., -ka 'and' and -ka -uka 'plural'.
8. -be is considered to be an allomorph of -e 'interrogation' in this construction. Another occurrence of -be 'interrogation' is:

tai bu-araba-be where go-you:past-interrogation 'Where did you go?'